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ABSTRACT

A study evaluated the extent to which Employee Development (ED) projects provided increased opportunities for continuing general education and training for employees in Britain. A questionnaire that sought to relate employer involvement in ED to wider issues of workplace culture, personnel, and training policies was sent to 70 firms; 50 percent responded. Only 14 questionnaires (20 percent) sent to a control group were returned. Follow-up visits were made to 11 firms. Findings indicated that many firms were laying off employees but were expecting more of those who remained. Broad-based ED schemes reached a significant percentage of the work force. In some firms there was cooperation over ED, but two other prevalent attitudes were that ED was a management prerogative and ED was a way of dividing the work force. Positive outcomes for ED participants were as follows: compensation for negative experiences in earlier education; elimination of barriers to participation caused by shift work; employee development beyond current job requirements; equal opportunities; personal confidence; and preparation for an unpredictable labor market. Employers hoped ED would help employees better understand the organization, encourage flexibility, develop a learning culture, and create an internal labor market. Recommendations were made for short-term changes in practice and long-term changes in policy. (Appendixes include contacts' addresses, abbreviations, and 72 references.) (YLB)

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Department of Adult
Continuing Education
University of Leeds

Adult Learners at Work

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FINAL RESEARCH REPORT

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July 1993

CE 067 339

Learning at Work

Final report

Leeds Adult Learners at Work Project

Staff:

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The project staff would like to thank all those individuals in firms, local authorities and public organisations who agreed to be interviewed, or to provide information, for the project. Except in the case of representatives of public bodies, we have used the convention of anonymity in all our publications, including this report.

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INTRODUCTION

The Department of Adult Continuing Education at the University of Leeds is concerned to promote lifelong learning in its broadest sense. By lifelong learning we mean structured opportunities to learn throughout adult life, for people in paid employment, in unpaid employment and in retirement. In addition to a large traditional programme of liberal education, the department has developed Access to Higher Education courses, part-time degree programmes, and educational work with trade unions, unemployment centres and community groups.

In September 1991 the Department of Adult Continuing Education at the University of Leeds began a two year research project into the nature and growth of 'Employee Development' (ED) learning programmes within the workplace, funded by the Universities Funding Council.

The Leeds Adult Learners at Work project team have worked closely with colleagues in other academic disciplines, including Economics, Sociology of Work, Industrial Relations, Vocational Educational and Training (VET) and Public Policy. In particular they have collaborated in the setting up of the Centre for Industrial Policy and Performance (CIPP), a multidisciplinary team based in the School of Economics and Business Studies.

This summary, like the main report, has four main sections:

- Chapter One outlines the context of the research
- Chapter Two reports on the methodological approaches used in the study
- Chapter Three reports the main findings of the research project
- Chapter Four suggests some of the implications of the research for future practice in this area.

CHAPTER ONE

The context of the research

Introduction

In the first part of this opening chapter, we explore the learning context for the growth of Employee Development (ED) as a discrete practice. The concerns of the researchers are located within the sphere of lifelong learning. A broad distinction is drawn between ED and Training. Indeed, ED has expanded in a context of considerable stresses and problems within the training field. Next we turn to the policy context and examine how public policy has developed and the limitations of voluntarism in securing a better qualified, better motivated workforce.

Education is often thought of as part of the general process by which children are socialised into the adult world. In this view, it is followed by a period of training which provides young adults with the generalised skills necessary in a particular area of employment and/or the specific skills required in a given job. Additionally, education is seen as having wider aims than training, in preparing children for all aspects of adult life as citizens, consumers, parents and so on. While these broad distinctions are useful, there are also positive benefits to be derived from the use of the term "learning". This emphasises the active processes which take place both within education and training, but also in a wide variety of social contexts, not least in the workplace on an everyday basis. However, the exclusive use of the term "learning" ignores the unequal distribution of participation in all forms of adult education and training which is rightly the concern of public policy (McGivney 1990, Sargant 1991, Courtney 1992). Questions of power and control underlie the whole field, although they are not directly addressed in this report.

The Department of Adult Continuing Education at the University of Leeds is concerned to promote lifelong learning in its broadest sense. By lifelong learning we mean structured opportunities to learn throughout adult life, for people in paid employment, in unpaid employment and in retirement. Lifelong learning as a concept has a long and distinguished history (Wain 1993). In 1919 the Final report of the Ministry of Reconstruction referred to it in these terms:

> Adult education must not be regarded as a luxury for a very few exceptional persons - but adult education is a permanent national necessity, an inseparable aspect of citizenship and should therefore be both universal and lifelong - the opportunity for adult education should be spread evenly and systematically all over the community. (Ministry of Reconstruction 1980:5)

More recently, lifelong learning has become closely associated with the name of Ettore Gelpi and the work of the UNESCO Adult Education office in Paris. He has emphasised that adult learning must be informed by working life but not controlled by it and has stressed imagination and creativity rather than a narrow view of competence:

> Education is becoming a part of the social and productive process and not ... only an initiation to work. The productive process is changing permanently and this means a need for flexibility, mobility, innovations, and psychological equilibrium to deal positively with these changes; this means also permanent

> creativity in education, not only to pick up skills, but to understand the complex nature of the emerging productive process and its relationship to the working and non-working environment. This creativity is reserved not only for the top managers, it has to become the patrimony of the entire work-force of the productive structure. (Gelpi 1986:233)

In September 1991 the Department of Adult Continuing Education at the University of Leeds began a two year research project into the nature and growth of 'Employee Development' (ED) learning programmes within the workplace. Funded by the University Funding Council, the research programme had the following objectives:

> a) to investigate the extent of ED learning programmes within British companies and public sector services;
>
> b) to analyse the reasons and circumstances within workplaces, in Britain primarily, but also from an international perspective, that gave rise to ED programmes;
>
> c) to explore the varied nature of ED programmes.

By 'Employee Development' schemes, we mean all those training and education initiatives in the workplace which:

> a) provide a major focus on the **personal development** of employees. ED schemes may encompass job-related learning but are **broader** than job-specific training;
>
> b) provide learning opportunities for substantial sections of the workforce previously excluded from job-specific training and educational initiatives (especially for those employees with limited previous formal education experience);
>
> c) provide an employee-centred learning approach with learning choices and opportunities available to participants;
>
> d) provide continuous learning opportunities rather than a one-off opportunity;
>
> e) involve employees and/or their trade unions in the origins, development and administration of the programme;
>
> f) encourage the right to learning while at work.

Our primary objective has been to evaluate the extent to which Employee Development (ED) schemes do provide increased opportunities for continuing general education and training for adult employees. At the same time, as Gelpi suggests, people's learning takes place within real social and economic circumstances. Within the constraints and possibilities of their circumstances, people struggle to make sense of their lives and to provide a decent standard of living and quality of life for themselves, their families and their communities (Giddens 1991). This relationship between adult learning and everyday living is at the core of our interest. Thus the Leeds Adult Learners at Work project team have worked closely with colleagues in other areas of work, including Economics, Sociology of Work, Industrial Relations, Vocational Educational and Training (VET) and Public Policy. In particular they have collaborated in the setting up of the Centre for Industrial Policy and Performance (CIPP), a multidisciplinary team based in the School of Economics and Business Studies at the University of Leeds.

The learning context of Employee Development

Many of the important debates about workplace learning were prefigured in the important debate that took place in the 1970s and 1980s around the concept of Paid Educational Leave (OECD 1973, CERI 1978, Somerton 1979, Bird and Killeen 1981, Mace and Yarnit 1987, SIT/TGWU n/d, Field 1988a, Miliband 1990, Schuller 1990, Forrester and Ward 1991).

This debate took place in a context of ongoing argument about the nature of markets, the ways in which it was desirable or possible to intervene in them and the relative powers of capital and labour. From an early concern to extend the opportunities for continuing education open to trade union representatives, it extended to the whole workforce, and beyond to those sectors of society not in paid work. It has also been largely a European debate. The second debate has centred in the USA, and has emphasised on the one hand a business concern for the profitability of industry and on the other hand a humanistic concern for the "development" of individuals. The two strands (PEL and Employee Development) come together in the direct influence of the Ford/UAW and GM/UAW experiences in the USA (Schurman et al 1991) on the development of the Ford/EDAP scheme in the UK, which moves the argument about Employee Development (ED) decisively towards the interests and rights of employees.

The 1989 edited volume by Leymann and Kornbluh (Leymann and Kornbluh 1989) combines work from US and European perspectives, and is an important source for tracking the genesis of ED. In considering developments in production methods, Schurman contrasts the optimistic view of Hirschhorn that "modern cybernetic-based technology re-establishes the pre-eminence of human learning and the human role in work" with the pessimistic view of writers such as Arendt and Braverman that "the workers' intelligence will be eliminated from the labour process with advancing automation ..." (Schurman 1989:49). Schurman argues that the present "curriculum of work" (by which we assume she means traditionally organised and rigidly hierarchical business training) "*prevents* rather than *enhances* workers' capacities to engage in (reflexive) learning" (idem:62 - her emphases). Finally, she refers to a paradigm shift that seeks to "reassert the *process* as well as the outcomes of work as an integral part of human life" (idem:64 - her emphasis). This might include industrial democracy, quality of working life, worker participation, employee involvement and participative management. This comes very close to Gelpi's view of the relation between education and work which we quoted above (page 2).

Writing from a Swedish trade union background, Skold asserts that:

> It should be a matter of course for workers to be able to develop their all-round knowledge and skills in the workplace, to be able to meet the changes that are taking place in production processes and in society, and to meet their own needs for other work tasks as they mature (Skold 1989:13).

Leymann raises another important theme: the conflict between hierarchically organised workplaces and the move to encourage self-reliant workers who learn as they work and apply their learning to the tasks they perform. He points out that the organisation of work can either support or contradict individual learning going on within the workplace: "Little heed is paid to the fact that the organisation itself as a learning environment may reinforce or weaken the learning process, or even distort the subject matter it was intended to teach." (Leymann 1989a:122). Leymann explicitly relates the move towards the workplace as a learning environment with the move towards industrial democracy:

> People learn, change their way of thinking, their goals and priorities, and adjust their communication in such a way as to make action (which is a result of knowledge) possible. For this to happen there must be one important condition which today is lacking in countries and companies where industrial democracy is poorly developed or non-existent. For people who have just learned something new to be able to act on this knowledge, they must have enough influence or autonomy to change the communicative infrastructure of their workplace. (Leymann 1989b:288)

There are two recent studies which attempt to apply some of these ideas to the UK context, albeit at a less theorised level. Wood's account of continuous development (CD) was published by the Institute of Personnel Management (IPM), and indeed much of the popularisation of these ideas is to be traced in the various journals, publications and conference reports of the IPM. She argues that CD is a way of linking personal objectives with business objectives. Some of her 12 case-studies are exclusively concerned with management, but others show some attempt to "reach out" to the shop-floor and junior office levels. In the case-study of Toshiba, the influence of Japanese methods is clear, with an attempt to obliterate traditional hierarchical divisions between skilled and unskilled, managers and shop-floor. The Managing Director is quoted as saying "We were more interested in people with the right attitudes rather than with high levels of expertise, as we can teach them how to perform their role, but to change bad attitudes is difficult if not impossible" (Wood 1988:102). There is no attempt at critical analysis of the concept of CD itself and how it fits in with industrial restructuring. Hughes, for example, claims that "Development is a polite word for what Schumpeter two generations ago rightly called "creative destruction" ... as changing technology and competition between giant firms alters (sic) the industrial landscape" (Hughes 1991:62). Knell has shown in a number of case-studies of US and Japanese inward investment in West Yorkshire how incoming jobs are largely semi-skilled, with senior managerial positions filled by foreign nationals, and research and development work remaining in the firm's country of origin (Knell 1992).

A further related area that has attracted some research interest in the UK is the notion of learning through work, in other words how learning experiences can be organised within the workplace and linked to processes of educational accreditation (Duckenfield and Stirner 1992). Temple analyses the impact of Open Learning on the field of workplace learning. She uses case-studies to exemplify the different ways in which Open Learning is being used in industry and takes up a number of related issues, such as the particular perspectives of small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs), and NVQs. She returns to the issue of attitudes, which she refers to as "culture" and also introduces the issue of motivation, which, as our own case-studies have revealed, occupies a very high place on the agenda of those concerned to extend workplace learning:

> It is this which makes programmes of personal development such as those at Ford and Rover a clear-eyed business investment. In the face of increased competition and with the spread of quality initiatives, any company is more likely to prosper if it can find a mechanism for engaging the brains of its workforce as well as their hands. (Temple 1991:173)

"I didn't see myself being able to move within the company, for various reasons. I didn't seem to be taken seriously at anything, probably because I was female, so I thought, well, I can't do any more here, within this office, so I need something to stimulate my brain (...) I just wanted a little bit more out of life." (Office worker, manufacturing firm)

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In relation to Employee Development, the central interest of this research report, Metcalf has used the case-study method to look very specifically at Employee Development in the UK. (Metcalf 1992). However, the published version of this report is descriptive rather than critical, and does not substantially advance understanding of the developments described. ED has responded to a concern about the relationship between the level of education and training in the workplace and economic performance in an increasingly global and increasingly difficult world economy. At the same time, it has stressed that work is a major motivation for adults to undertake education, and that personal development in the workplace is relevant to both the employee and employer. We shall now turn to consider an aspect of industrial policy which has been considered as unproblematically in the interests of employers: training.

The history of industrial training in the UK is well dealt with by Sheldrake and Vickerstaff (1987). They emphasise that industrial training has traditionally been seen as the function of employers, except in times of national crisis (war, mass unemployment). As part of government policy, training has fulfilled both social and economic purposes (Field 1988b:39). Despite many successful and innovative schemes, government attempts to increase the quality and quantity of industrial training through the Industrial Training Boards (1964 onwards) were never entirely accepted by employers and were rapidly dismantled after 1979. Intervention in training through the Manpower Services Commissions and its various successor bodies (1973 onwards) was beset by frequent and contradictory changes of direction, a short-term perspective and a greater concern with the political problems of employment and unemployment than their training components (Chapman 1991). There is currently a concern with a narrow-based view of competence which appears to sit uncomfortably with the statements from the business community (see next section) about the needs for more flexibility and adaptability in employment. (Field 1991, Edwards 1993).

The crisis of UK adult training policy as it emerged in the 1980s was a crisis rich in contradictions, ironies, abrupt changes of policy and unintended outcomes. It also increasingly took the form of a moral panic, with the concern to "do something about the unemployed" being replaced as unemployment began to decrease in the mid-80s by a tendency to ascribe all the ills of British industry to a lack of training. If little was achieved for the growing numbers of unemployed people, even less was achieved for those already in work. A significant feature was the retreat from compulsion with the disappearance or downgrading of the ITBs. The assumption was that employers were providing for the ongoing training of the labour force, an assumption which was being generally questioned by the later 1980s. Indeed the level of public concern was only matched by the determination of government to pursue a policy of non-intervention. Sheldrake and Vickerstaff point to the ambivalent attitude to training in the UK, which on the one hand ensures the "hands off" approach of the government, and on the other hand ensures the very failure of that approach:

> We have lacked both the individualistic approach, which perceives the pursuit of training as a matter of personal investment, and the collectivist orientation which sees training as central to the general enrichment of society as a whole. (Sheldrake and Vickerstaff 1987:54)

Keep sees this as the crucial debate within the apparent consensus:

> A growing awareness of the UK's deficiencies has led to widespread agreement across the political spectrum that improvement of the UK skills base is a vital prerequisite for economic success. The means by which such an improvement might best be secured are, unfortunately, not subject to the same

> degree of consensus. In particular, the role of the state, and the degree to which training policies and provision can be left to market forces, is the focus of a heated debate. (Keep 1993:95)

Keep goes on to suggest four reasons for the failure of UK firms to invest in training: the potential for training to disrupt existing power relationships at work; the transition of UK companies into British-based multinationals; the weakening of long-term commitment to any one company within the business; the fact that demand for skills from employers is weak (idem:106/7).

Even the actual extent of training in the UK has been an important area of controversy. The best source for this is the major study of training activities in the UK commissioned by the Training Agency (TA 1989a). This is a complex document. The first point to make is that it refers to research carried out in 1986/7, with the economy just emerging from a major recession, during which training is believed to have been cut back by many enterprises. However, it is also clear that while a major purpose of the report is to stimulate growth in training, the report stops short of "blaming" employers for low levels of training. A Training Agency survey showed that one third of employees had trained within the past year, one third since leaving school, and one third had received no training, though follow-up suggested that half the latter group had had "learning experiences related to work" (idem:11). A British Social Attitudes Survey (1987) is quoted which suggests 40% of employees had trained within the previous two years. However, what is also clear from the Training Agency report are the deep fissures within the workforce, with training clearly related to gender, class and enterprise size. Men are more likely to receive training than women, and those in big firms more likely than those in small firms (idem). In relation to social class, 48% of social class I and II workers had received training in the past 3 years compared with only 20% of semi- and unskilled workers. While 18% of class I and II workers claimed to have never received training, 46% of the semi-skilled / unskilled classes IV and V made this claim (idem:49).

In relation to the present study, one of the most significant findings was of a pattern of enterprises providing high levels of training also having sophisticated personnel policies and supporting employees to pursue general education courses: "It is clear, therefore, that those establishments providing high levels of training were also those with a better all-round range of personnel policies" (idem:43). The close relationship between developing personnel policies and developing education and training policies was reflected in our own survey of large employers, which showed a closer integration of both personnel and training policies with business objectives.

However, it is also important to set against this optimistic view of training the study conducted by the Labour Research Department (Bargaining Report 1990). There are methodological problems about this, since individual unions were invited to participate, and these unions then invited individual shop stewards to supply information. The majority of the information was provided from two unions (TGWU and MSF), some of it of an impressionistic kind by stewards themselves, some completed by training managers. This study complements the TA study by confirming that "the majority of UK employees received no training in the course of a year" (idem:6). It further

> ***"It's all very well the (firm) having a structured path for courses which are relevant to your work environment, that is an essential part of the Training Group, but I would like to see in the future, maybe, courses which are designed (...) to stimulate your ability through assertiveness and to become more confident (...) to be happy in yourself." (woman clerical worker in bank)***

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suggested that at a local level, there is more trade union involvement in training than was thought to be the case: 30% of respondents said that management consulted unions over training, and 17% that training was agreed with the union (idem:6). These figures match almost exactly our own survey finding that 45% of large companies had regular negotiations with unions on education and training issues (Forrester et al 1993b:12). The report also documents the problems that manual workers and part-time workers (often women) have in gaining access to training (Bargaining Report 1990:9).

What is clear is that it is no longer helpful to try and separate the debate about training from the debate about extending the educational opportunities available to adults both within and beyond the workplace. The point was well made before training reached the top of the political agenda:

> For many, if not most workers, training will always display two shortcomings. Its narrowness will constrain them to their present employment, rather than opening alternative paths of career development: and it will be too much concerned with the world of work. We must ... address the relationship between education and training, occupying, till now, largely separate existences, to the benefit of the small elite ... The influence of education should be extended to training, rather than the other way round." (Yarnit 1987:51).

This broader approach then allows us to make more sense of the claims which frequently recur in the policy literature that we need to develop a "learning culture" in the workplace. This learning culture will draw on elements traditionally associated with both "training" and "education". It is here too that the significance of ED becomes apparent. While it can encompass job-specific training, it also emphasises the importance of generic skills which can only be acquired through structured learning experience, in a word, through education. Just as there is no simple match between the individual and the labour market, so there is no simple relationship between education and the labour-market, as is implied in the simplistic discourse of "skills shortages" and "training for jobs". The economy requires fewer and fewer people to do the essential productive labour, but the labour force has actually increased in recent years with increasing service sector employment. The labour market is segmented with great regional variations. There are skill shortages in one area, high unemployment in another. Greater sophistication is required to define and create jobs and prepare the workers to fill them. It is difficult to see how a view of education which places the greatest emphasis on initial (school-based) education, and within that on educating an academic elite, can accommodate these complex and often contradictory changes. Lifelong learning offers the best hope in an uncertain world. For people in paid work, that implies an extension of existing ED schemes, with particular emphasis on those who have benefited least from initial education.

The policy context of ED

We are concerned at both a theoretical and practical level with the linkage between different spheres of human activity, each of which is defined in terms of a specific research question:

> ***Economy and Society*: To what extent do existing schemes to extend education and training opportunities in the workplace perpetuate or change existing patterns of adult participation in education and training?**

***Education and Training*: What is the relationship between job-related training needs and broader work-related educational needs?**

***Economic restructuring, education and training*: What is the relationship between economic change and changing requirements for learning in the workplace?**

We do not accept that these linkages are self-evident and unproblematic, or that definitive answers can be given. For this reason, we have been concerned at the policy level to unravel the different approaches and perspectives of major actors in the development of educational and training opportunities for adults in employment. These include the Confederation of British Industry (CBI), the Trades Union Congress (TUC), Industrial Society, Training and Enterprises Councils (TECs; LECs in Scotland), and national and local government. Education does not exist in a vacuum. At the same time there is little proven causal relationship between on the one hand education and training, and on the other hand economic performance. Esland has suggested that since Callaghan launched the "Great Debate" about education in his Ruskin College speech (1976), public debate about education has been characterised by a discourse of blame through which a mish-mash of complex issues are allocated a single cause - the failure of the education system to deliver an educated (and/or trained?) workforce:

> The displacement of responsibility for economic failure and decline from the political and economic arenas to the educational and training institutions (and individuals within them) has had the effect of distorting public policy debate about the relationship between economic change, education and employment. The concentration on changing the content of education and the attitudes of teachers and learners has led to the neglect of the part played by political and economic factors ... in determining the shape and quality of the national workforce. (Esland 1991:v)

It is clear for example that there have been dramatic changes in "the economy" and "the labour market" since 1976. We want here to concentrate on the changes in production methods in the advanced industrialised countries (Wood 1989), since these have the most direct impact on education and training needs (Forrester et al 1993a). These changes have been popularised as a shift from Fordist techniques of mass production, characterised by semiskilled work on an assembly line, to post-Fordist production, with multi-skilled workers producing a more diversified range of products, with very short times indeed to change from one to another (Murray 1991; Lipietz 1993). Much routine assembly work has been automated, leading to large-scale redundancies but requiring higher level of skills and attitudinal change on the part of the remaining workforce. Murray has summed up these new working methods as involving:

> a core of multiskilled workers whose tasks include not only manufacture and maintenance, but the improvement of the products and processes under their control. ... In post-Fordism, the worker is designed to act as a computer as well as a machine. (Murray 1991:63)

In terms of the learning requirements of the adult labour force, Murray argues that:

> Workers are no longer interchangeable. They gather experience. The Japanese job-for-life and corporate welfare scheme provide security. For the firm it secures an asset. Continuous training, payment by seniority, a breakdown of job demarcations, are all part of the Japanese core wage relation. (idem:63)

At the same time, the labour force is fractured between a minority, core labour force and "a majority of low-paid, fragmented peripheral workers, facing an underfunded and inadequate welfare state." (idem:64). This is achieved by productivity increases which leave large numbers of workers unemployed, and by contracting out as much work as possible: "The flexibility required by new working methods is produced at the core by stability and at the periphery by instability (idem:66; cf Millward et al 1992, Beaumont 1990). A survey in the mid-80s claimed that: "nine out of every ten manufacturing respondents had been seeking to increase the functional flexibility of their workforces since 1980" (Atkinson and Meager 1991:79). This begins to make sense of the apparent contradiction emerging from our study of large firms that training and indeed broad-based Employee Development schemes were flourishing at the same time as firms were declaring redundancies.

Despite the superficial consensus that "something should be done about" education and training, there is no clearly agreed way forward. The situation corresponds closely to Ball's view of educational policy-making:

> The mechanisms of restructuring and the policies which facilitate and legitimate change are actually brought about through the actions and interactions of a whole variety of particular people and groups. But at the level of social action these mechanisms and the formulation and implementation of policies are neither smooth nor neat. (Ball 1991:100).

The main disagreement is that between voluntarism and compulsion: in other words, should employers be legally required to take responsibility for the training of their workforce? The CBI's view is that it is in the best interests of employers to promote ED schemes: Tony Webb stated:

> "I think the reason why ... is because the companies took a view that ... if they were successful in getting their workforce to take an interest in furthering their own education, that would create a culture within the organisations, which would be .. had the spin-off of ... making them more receptive to training. So it's not a, a patronising ... it's not charitable, it's not a social phenomenon. I think it's an economic one in terms of the companies have said, 'Well, a lot of the things that we provide under these programmes do not relate directly to business needs, but if we are successful in getting that culture, getting that change, then that will have the spin-offs which will more than return the investment that we have initially made'." (1991 interview)

Yet the CBI rejects any element of compulsion, a view shared by the Industrial Society's Andrew Forrest:

> "On the whole the Industrial Society's philosophy is that if you look hard enough you'll find examples out there where people have taken initiatives themselves and what government, I believe what government can do is not so much to push money at things or to start things off necessarily. I think what government can do is to encourage like mad and ... make a fuss of, in the nicest way, of the good examples. The prime example that I have in mind is the National Training Awards which I think have been a tremendous success." (1991 interview)

In more recent times, this encouragement has taken the form of not only National Training Awards, but also National Education and Training targets (NETTs), which state

that by 1996 all employees should be taking part in training or development activities (NIACE 1993).

Yet there are also strong views ranged against the efficacy of voluntarism. Sheldrake and Vickerstaff assert baldly: "there is no historical basis for believing that voluntarism will produce an increase in adult training opportunities" (Sheldrake and Vickerstaff 1987:62). The TUC have pointed out that the UK government stands alone in its reliance on market forces in this area:

> In Skills 2000 (1989), the TUC observed that: 'in no developed economy is the market vested with such power over training today' and that nowhere else 'is it considered that individual investment decisions will provide the sort of trained workforce that a developed economy of the next century will need'. (Tuckett 1991:13)

While the view of the CBI reflects the interests of large firms in avoiding government intervention in the field, and the research findings do indeed suggest that a significant number of large firms are making major contributions to the education and training of the UK workforce, some SMEs, especially at a time of economic recession, look to government to set a lead in education and training issues. But since there is (a) no compulsion on firms to educate and train, and (b) no right to education and training for employees, the net result is that many SMEs do nothing. The one exception to this absence of public policy and structures in adult education and training is the development of the Training and Enterprise Councils (TECs) in England and Wales, and the Local Enterprise Companies (LECs) in Scotland, which represent a significant if contradictory intervention by government in the training arena. While David Miliband of the Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR) deplored the paucity of LEA and trade union representatives on these councils, he thought it would be "retrograde to somehow abolish the TECs" (1991 interview) because they are an essential local link. One clear contradiction is between the broad aims of TECs to "be a catalyst for change within its community" (TA 1989b:1) and the obvious fact that 90% of their budget goes on Youth Training (YT) and training schemes for unemployed adults - Employment Training (ET) and Training for Work. Frances Graham of Workbase, a well-established consultancy specialising in Basic Skills training in industry and public services, made the equally important point that local initiatives are unlikely to succeed without a national framework:

> "I also think that there needs to be an overall strategy ... There has been a government policy saying everything is going to be regional and local but before they start bringing any funding into it, I think there has to be an overall political strategy of how education and training is really going to work, what the principles are and what the entitlements are and what's at stake for the nation, rather than letting local TECs do it in the way they want to." (1991 interview)

"I've actually joined the library, two weeks ago, the first time I've ever done it in my life, and got books out, and reading books now. Never thought I'd ever do it, never! ... It's opened up a whole new way of life for me, I've got a second chance, and I'm (going to) take it with both hands." (Golf-course supervisor, City Council)

The substantive case for the link between economic health and training policies is made by Cassels (1990), who produces detailed evidence, based on a number of other research studies, which support the findings of Daly et al, that "lack of

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technical expertise and training, rather than a simple lack of modern machinery, is the stumbling block [in Britain]" (Daly et al 1985). Cassels refers to "an elite" of companies distinguished by their record on education and training, and in a sense this research report is a study of a group of employers who may well have more in common with one another than with employers outside the study. The existence of "backwoods" employers reluctant to make the significant move from seeing labour as a cost to seeing labour as an investment is highly probable (TA 1989a:11). The Employment Department report, *Skill needs in Britain* (1991), found that 29% of British companies have no training plan and 34% no training budget (Harrison 1992:236). The CBI complained that only 48% of enterprises have a written business plan and only 41% a written training plan (CBI 1991:7).

Yet beneath the superficial consensus of late 1980s policy statements, a number of distinct strands may be identified. Such publications share an assumption that it is the quantity of training provided, rather than its quality, or its relationship to educational issues, which is the problem. Secondly, the apparent consensus also largely ignores evidence which shows that training, like education, is unequally spread through society (Tuckett 1991:12-15). Thirdly, many of these studies also of course edit out the economic conditions and associated political decisions which are part and parcel of any "solution" to Britain's economic decline.

Conclusion

In this opening chapter we have defined the context of the research in terms of lifelong learning and the growth of ED as a distinctive approach to workplace learning. We have also outlined the policy debate around the skills requirements of the workforce as it has developed in the UK in recent years. Chapter Two goes on to outline the main concerns of our own research, and the methodology used.

CHAPTER TWO

Methodology

Figure 1: **Methodological summary**

1. Interviews with significant actors

2. Questionnaire survey of large employers (private sector)

3. Case-studies (private and public sectors)

Preliminary work

The project was launched at a joint National Institute for Adult Continuing Education (NIACE) and University of Leeds Department of Adult Continuing Education conference in September 1991. The conference was attended by a broad variety of people from universities, colleges, employers and other interested bodies. Key-note speakers included representatives of the CBI, TUC, NIACE and a local Training and Enterprise Council (TEC).

In order to get some idea of the range of firms involved in Employee Development, approaches were made to a number of organisations and individuals with interests in the field. A number of these contacts were made through the conference. Major interviews were conducted during this period at Workbase, the Industrial Society, the CBI and IPPR. Additional contacts included researchers at other universities, including Bradford, Nottingham and Lancaster (Centre for the Study of Education and Training), which was conducting research into Basic Skills training in firms in the North-West of England. Project staff have continued to work closely with colleagues at Lancaster, and we would like to acknowledge their help and assistance at a number of points in our own study.

We also made contact with two of the better established ED schemes: Ford/EDAP (Employee Development and Assistance Programme), whose pivotal role in introducing ED into British industry was mentioned in Chapter One, and Lucas CET (Continuing Education and Training). There are important differences between these schemes, and initial consideration of such differences led us to adopt a broad definition of Employee Development. For example, while Ford/EDAP specified that courses must not be job-related (in order to keep a clear line between ED and business training), Lucas CET specified that courses should be work-related. Ford/EDAP was established as part of collective bargaining, while Lucas CET was set up with money from a company trust fund designed to be used for the benefit of employees. While union involvement was an important part of Ford/EDAP, union involvement at Lucas was limited to regular meetings at which union representatives would be kept in touch with how the money was being used.

It was clear that our methodological approach would need to be broad enough to encompass schemes with very different organisational parameters. Further, since there were relatively few schemes as focussed as Ford/EDAP and Lucas CET, it would be necessary to cast our net widely in order to find out if other firms were achieving similar ED objectives by quite different means, not least using different terminology to describe them.

Methodological rationale

We began with a set of **research questions**, expressed in the form of **project criteria**. From this set of project criteria, a number of **evaluation criteria** were developed. This is summarised in figure 2.

Figure 2: Project criteria and evaluation criteria

Project criteria	Evaluation criteria
The extent to which schemes have trade union involvement or other employee involvement in their setting up or running.	1. The origins and motives of the scheme. 2. The analysis of social, economic and technical change that has taken place. 3. Trade union involvement in planning and implementing the scheme.
The extent to which schemes offer employees choice in relation to education and training.	4. The choices employees have. Possible restrictions on types of courses. The mode of delivery - on-site, off-site, Open Learning? Matching the particular requirements of part-time and shift workers. 5. The quality of advice and counselling available.
The extent to which schemes prioritise the less well educated and less skilled and compensate in some way for previous negative experience of education and training, and contribute to equal opportunities in employment, education or training.	6. Attempts to prioritise the less skilled and less well educated workers, including attempts to compensate for previous negative experiences of education and training. 7. Attempts to overcome some of the generally agreed barriers to adult learning, e.g. Situational: time, cost, transport, time of day, childcare; Dispositional: attitudes, perceptions, expectations; Institutional: the unresponsive system, education and social selection, reference groups (McGivney 1990). 8. The attention paid to the education and training needs of women and black people.

The basis that schemes have in an analysis of technical, economic and social change.	9. An emphasis on education / training / learning (as defined in this project). 10. The relationship between the scheme and other training policies and initiatives within the enterprise. 11. The motives and outcomes for employers, unions (if applicable) and employees.
The extent to which ED schemes represent significant educational innovations and new structures for adult learning, and have policy implications for the extension of lifelong learning.	12. The policy implications that can be drawn from the scheme. 13. The relationship between the scheme and the size and type of enterprise. 14. The transferability of the scheme. 15. Links with educational providers, both proactive and reactive. 16. The overall contribution to adult learning.

However, in order to operationalise these **evaluation criteria** for use in assessing workplace learning schemes through either questionnaire or case-study, it was necessary to define the quantitative and qualitative information required in order to answer the questions set in the evaluation criteria. These then constitute the **operationalising** criteria.

1. SIC categories. The research employed conventional SIC (Standard Industrial Classification) categories not refined beyond single digits. This offers comparability with other studies, for researchers wishing to do secondary analysis of the data. SIC definitions can be collapsed into broader definitions such as public / private, or service / manufacturing. There are methodological reasons for excluding certain sectors (e.g. Agriculture because almost entirely small employers; central government because of problems of access to Civil Service).

2. Size of enterprise. We were not, generally, concerned with small and medium size enterprises (SMEs). One useful definition of the SME in this context links it to the absence of a specific member of staff with responsibility for training. The range in this study was between 400 and 240,000 employees. Further information on this can be found in the Large Firms Survey published by the research project in December 1992. Copies are available from the Department of Adult Continuing Education, University of Leeds.

3. Extent of scheme: budget, numbers of employees taking part and percentage of workforce, part-time / full-time employees, types of education and training covered.

4. Employer culture and ideology: ethos of firm, union involvement and / or attitudes, industrial relations climate, links with educational bodies, skills and occupational format of workforce, views on education, training and learning, views on economic and technical change.

5. Approach to education in scheme:

* control: who defines the parameters of the scheme?
* on / off premises
* emphasis on work-related or non-work-related courses
* educational methodologies used
* provision of advice and counselling
* how does it relate to previous education of employees?
* how does it relate to business training of employees?
* types of educational institutions involved
* organisational questions: single agency, inter-agency.

6. Who benefits?

* benefits to employer
* benefits to trade unions (if involved) and industrial relations
* benefits to individual workers:
* in relation to occupation and skill levels
* in relation to initial education
* in relation to equal opportunities issues (race, gender etc).

7. Identifying transferable aspects: organisation, finance, process, content and types of provision, removal of barriers, individual learning outcomes.

Are there aspects of schemes which are company and industry specific? Or which can only be understood in terms of the local labour market?

8. Monitoring and evaluation: what is being done? who does it?

In order to gather this information, it was decided to conduct a questionnaire survey and a number of case-studies. The next section of this report covers the collection and analysis of questionnaire data. This is followed by a section on the particular methodological problems associated with researching the public sector. Subsequent sections deal with the development of the case-study method, and how generalisations can be made on the basis of questionnaire and case-study data.

Collection and analysis of questionnaire data

A questionnaire was devised, piloted and revised. Those commenting included Ford/EDAP and Lucas CET. The questionnaire sought to relate employer involvement in Employee Development to wider issues of workplace culture, personnel and training policies. In addition to closed questions with yes / no answers (e.g. asking whether firms had an Open Learning Centre, supported Open University study, and so on), open questions were asked seeking to test employers' understanding of changes in production, personnel and training policies. Questions were also asked about union involvement and the impact on Industrial Relations, and about priorities in terms of particular groups of workers (e.g. unskilled) and subjects (e.g. Basic Skills)

Questionnaires were then sent to 70 firms who were either known to have set up ED schemes or were regarded as leaders in the field of training. In each case, the firm was contacted before mailing in order that the questionnaire went to a named relevant person

in the firm. Thus if the questionnaire was thrown in the bin, at least this would have the status of an informed decision! This careful procedure achieved a response rate of 50%.

Questionnaires were then sent to a control group of firms, selected according to industrial sector using Standard Industrial Classification (SIC) codes, size and location to match as closely as possible the first group surveyed. Only 20% in the control group replied, which made it impossible to draw any reliable conclusions about differences between firms in the two groups. It is thus important to emphasise that this is largely a study of the market leaders in the field of ED, and the reader, far from generalising from the sample, would be advised to make no assumptions about what is happening among other UK employers. Certainly, none of the 14 firms who did reply in the control group had an organised ED scheme, though several might have been included in what we describe in chapter 3 as the "super-trainer" group.

The questionnaires received back from the target group cover firms employing nearly 1 million employees, though this figure declined during the period covered by the research (1991-93). They give a clear picture of the current position with regard to ED and training in a sample of large British employers: the "market leaders" in these fields.

The Public Sector

The research methodology originally envisaged a parallel questionnaire to the private sector one being carried out with public employers (e.g. local government, health authorities). However, it was clear from the relatively poor response in the private sector "control group" to the kind of detailed questionnaire we felt appropriate for this subject, that employers not actually running Employee Development schemes were unlikely to find the time to complete the questionnaire. It was therefore decided by the research team to adopt more naturalistic methods. In addition to a number of public employers already known to us, contacts were established with a number of public and academic bodies involved in local government and other public sector employment and training in order to identify public employers who operate Employee Development schemes. This proved a difficult endeavour which produced little useful information. For example contact with bodies representing metropolitan, district and county councils all referred us back to the Local Government Management Board (the lead body for training in local government) who appeared to not recognise ED as a separate category. Workbase was a valuable source of information at this stage, and we also benefited from discussions with colleagues at Ruskin College who had been working with Oxford City Council on ED (Hughes and Mayo 1991) and with colleagues at the Scottish Community Education Council (SCEC), who have been promoting ED in Scotland (SCEC 1990; Castelino 1989).

Eventually three detailed case-studies were carried out, using the same categories of staff and adapted versions of the interview schedules developed for the private sector case-studies (and discussed in the next section). The employers were: Humberside County Council, Glasgow City Council, Sheffield City Council. In the case of the Sheffield "Take Ten" scheme, established in 1983, which we believe to

> ***I learned more on a TUC Health and Safety course with discussions, than on a fortnight's training course. That was an intense training, nothing like this - you sat there, they gave you work, one section, then the next section straight after, then again right at an end you had an exam. It was more like being at school. (Thompson 1992)***

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be the oldest ED scheme in Britain, we were also able to make use of a considerable amount of written data on the scheme and copies of student writings. Publications are available from the Take Ten office in Sheffield (useful addresses are included in an Appendix to this report). Sheffield students are also represented in the *Not just a number book* available from CSET, Lancaster University.

Case-studies

From the beginning, we were committed to the use of case-study methods, in addition to survey, not least because it was clear that there were limitations to the survey method in applying some of the evaluation criteria. The format for the large firms survey and case-studies was fitted into the framework established by the evaluation criteria, though given the approach to theory in the research (see below), later case-studies also contained an element of **hypothesis testing**.

The initial set of **project criteria** (figure 2) provided a basis for selecting case-studies, each of which was intended to illuminate a particular area, e.g. trade union involvement or prioritising the less skilled. However, it became rapidly clear to us that the survey had failed to uncover important aspects of certain schemes. Thus as we came to find out more about particular workplaces, so more criteria appeared relevant to them. While case-studies were selected with careful regard to methodology, choice was also constrained by questions of gaining access.

Choice of case-studies

The validity of case-study evidence depends on the thoroughness with which it is prepared and carried out, rather than on the quantity. Thus the Centre for Educational Research and Innovation (CERI) report on PEL (CERI 1978), which covered both private and public sectors, was based on between 2 (Italy and Yugoslavia) and 7 (Sweden and US) case-studies. The original intention of the Leeds project team was to carry out a relatively small number of very detailed case-studies. However, given that the phenomenon of ED is an elusive and variable category, and also that finance was limited, it was decided to opt for a larger number of case-studies which would generally be limited to one day visits. In practice it generally proved necessary to make one introductory visit in order to make contact with a firm and prepare the ground. This was especially the case with a large utility such as British Telecom, where an initial visit to Head Office in London was followed by a local site case-study.

We approached all the firms who had answered "yes" to the suggestion in the questionnaire of a follow-up visit, plus 3 others we had made contact with subsequent to the sending of the questionnaire, and which related very directly to the project criteria. Of 18 firms approached, only 2 refused outright to participate further in the project, although in a further 5 cases it proved impossible for operational reasons to complete the case-studies. This left us with 11 firms which eventually provided a set of case-studies which show geographical spread and reflect a range of industrial sectors. The relative bias towards SIC2 (Steel and Chemicals) and SIC 3 (Engineering) reflects the particular interest of these sectors in ED, and their strong representation in the questionnaire survey.

The eventual case-studies in both the private sector and the public sector are listed in figure 3.

Figure 3: **Case-study employers**

SIC CODE	FIRM
2	British Steel Teesside ICI Teesside Norsk Hydro Scott Bader
3	Baxi Partnerships Peugeot Talbot Vauxhall Motors Luton Venture Pressings
4	Colman's of Norwich
7	British Telecom
8	Girobank
9	Glasgow City Council Humberside County Council Sheffield City Council

Developing the case-study method

The categories of people we wanted to interview were: personnel and training managers; senior managers (e.g. departmental); trade union lay officers; employees. In some cases, we were able to interview more than one person in each of the first three categories. However, it did seem to us that the absence of one of these categories would not invalidate the case-study. What was essential was to interview actual employees who were taking part in ED activities, and in the cases where this proved impossible, we have omitted that case-study completely. This was unfortunate, as in several of these cases we were aware of significant and innovatory aspects to the schemes. However, it seemed to us that without "user validation" no case-study could be deemed to have been conducted with the rigour appropriate to university research.

In each category, a list of points was drawn up of information that we would want to acquire, based on the evaluation criteria.. This in turn was developed into an interviewing schedule. However, questions asked were generally of an open-ended nature, there was some flexibility in the timing of interviews, and the interviewee generally allowed to develop her or his points in any order, provided they covered the necessary ground. In this way, individual social actors are given scope to make their individual contribution to the project, which may go beyond the limits established by academic researchers who do not have intimate knowledge of the workplaces they are visiting. We regard this point as crucial in defining both the ethical and scientific value of the case-study method. In many cases the list of questions was used merely as a check list. Interviews were generally recorded, with the permission of the interviewee, on the understanding that no individual person would be identified by name, and that where

critical comments were made about a particular employer, these would be presented in such a way that the firm could not be readily identified. In general these assurances produced a series of frank and revealing insights into company policy and practice, employee experience and trade union perspectives.

It is not our intention in a report of this length to comment in detail on each category of interviews. However, since a major focus of our interest was the employee experience, a few additional remarks are relevant. The required information covered: age, sex, gender, details of job, previous educational experience, details of ED undertaken, how ED related to work and other aspects of the employee's life as individual, family member, citizen, and benefits to firm, self and anyone else. This information was eventually transferred to a pro forma sheet, either directly if the employee did not wish the interview to be recorded, or from the tape-recording. We made full use of taped interview to record verbatim employees' views on substantive issues. The original tape-recordings have been archived and will be available to bona fide researchers under strict conditions to protect confidentiality.

Finally in this section, it is important to note that in later case-studies there was an element of hypothesis testing in relation to the research criteria. Thus, for example, in relation to operationalising criterion six (Who benefits?), a question might be phrased in this way: "someone I spoke to at another firm said that ... Is that something you would agree with?" This flexibility is another important part of case-study method (Payne 1990).

Generalising from questionnaire and case-study material

The project criteria can be seen as reflecting a set of initial hypotheses, based on readings and on initial contact with key actors in the field. The questionnaire then acted as a filter to further delimit the relevant field of study. The case-studies, then, are not to be seen as "representative" of a wider whole. In so far as they have any representative value, it is only in terms of the typology which we establish in chapter three of "super trainers" and "personal developers." The case-studies, together with other well-known examples (e.g. Ford/EDAP, Lucas CET, Sheerness Steel) substantially cover those firms working at the leading edge of Employee Development policies and practice (cf Metcalf 1992). Each stage of the research can be seen as leading on to the next in an organic manner:

Initial hypotheses

↓

Questionnaire

↓

Case-studies

Faced with the wealth of material from the case-studies, a major tool of analysis was thematic analysis. Given the lifelong learning perspective which informs the whole study, the views of employees held the status of a privileged body of knowledge. At the same time, the particular way in which we approached those employees owed much to the initial hypotheses, and, for example, the conceptual work undertaken on definitions of education, training and learning. The thematic analysis was enriched by the views of other relevant actors: employee-students who had recorded their views in published

Figure 4: **Constructing a view of workplace learning**

writings, the views of management and unions both within the case-study firms and beyond, academic writing on the subject area. In reconsidering our initial hypotheses, we were then able to reach a series of recommendations (chapter four) which we believe will inform future theory, practice and policy in this field. This process is charted in figure 4.

CHAPTER THREE

Project findings

Introduction

This chapter begins by dealing with conceptual issues related to the origins of ED, and suggests a typology based on two ideal type employers: the "super-trainers" and the "personal developers". The findings of the project are then reported: the extent of ED and how this relates to the changing UK labour force; who participates in ED; the costs of ED; evaluation of ED; ED and Industrial Relations. We then define the outcomes of ED for employees. Finally, we look at the perspectives of employers and what they hope to achieve through ED.

The origins of ED

ED is a complex response to a complex problem. Broad differences between "super-trainers" and "personal developers" as groups (a typology outlined below) and within each group can be explained partly by different objective situations of firms, but also by different levels of understanding of how employers should be reacting to changing technologies, working methods and economic conditions.

These changes are also outlined below. What were the more immediate factors? Firstly FORD/EDAP was unique in being the only scheme in our survey which was set up following a trade union initiative, itself imitating the successful collaborative efforts in the USA between the Union of Automobile Workers (UAW) and Ford and General Motors. All remaining schemes claimed to be management initiatives, with or without trade union involvement, and 83% of firms had learned from the experience of other firms, usually through visits. Such links are especially effective within the manufacturing sector, and the 17% who had not had this sort of contact were more likely to be non-manufacturing firms. A group of twelve firms meet occasionally, facilitated by NIACE, to exchange ED experiences. Nine of these 12 employers are manufacturing firms.

An ED typology

It will already be apparent that there are significant differences between firms in their approach to ED. The evidence collected by questionnaire survey, strengthened by subsequent case-studies, is that among employers investing in ED, there are ideal types: the "Super-trainers" and the "Personal developers". These ideal types have a significant impact on who participates and the outcomes for individual employees. However, these are ideal types: personal development takes place within the "super-trainers"; training is not absent from the "personal developers".

The super-trainers

The working methods of this group are characterised by multi-tasking and multi-skilling, an emphasis on team-work, and the application of Information Technology at all levels. In terms of training they normally have an Open Learning Centre, and provide advice and guidance for employees. This may in turn be related to the annual appraisal system. They will have contact with at least one educational institution and sponsor

some employees on technical and professional courses in Further and Higher Education. They do not usually have trade union involvement in training. They do not normally emphasise personal development as an objective, or if they do so, place it in a narrow Human Resource Management context which is more concerned with the firm's needs than employees' needs.

The personal developers

These firms are remarkably similar to the "super-trainers" in terms of working methods and approach to training. By contrast, they are much more likely to have trade union involvement, and are normally able to separate out the budget for Employee Development from the general Training budget. Their approach emphasises the personal development of employees, offers choice of subjects to be studied and establishes an element of entitlement to education. It is in this sense that our working definition of ED points out that it may include job-specific training but that its scope broadens out to include opportunities for personal development through education.

Implications of the typology

In the Large Firms survey, 52% of employers demanded that courses should be work-related. However, it does not necessarily follow that this distinction is identical to that between "personal developers" and "super-trainers". We have already noted the difference between a particular firm which demands that courses shall not be job-related and the requirement of another firm that courses shall be work-related. What is more important is the way such distinctions are negotiated between social actors at site level. For example, one unskilled employee in the "work-related-only" firm was being sponsored to study Cookery. Yet the desired outcome was to boost this person's motivation and personal confidence in the belief that s/he might later want to study something of more relevance to the firm. The same firm had developed a Return to Study provision in conjunction with a local College which had very broad educational objectives. In the other firm, the requirement that courses should be "not-job-related" seems to us not something intrinsic to ED but a feature of a scheme jointly negotiated between management and union, in a firm where union desire to ensure that ED is not used as a way of cutting training budgets coincides with management desire to continue to exercise close control over training.

The significance of this typology is that it helps us to begin to understand just why the debate referred to in chapter one with its apparent consensus around the need to promote "education and training" is so facile. If a learning culture is to take root in UK firms, with the active support of employees and their trade unions, it seems vital that firms who wish to "do something about" developing their workforces should seriously consider the "personal developers" model. This argument will be taken up again in chapter four, as will another fundamental issue which emerges from the typology: the exact relationship between general education or "learning" in the workplace and the business requirements of the firm.

The extent of Employee Development

The completed and usable questionnaires were concentrated in 4 SIC sectors:

1. Coal, gas and power
2. Steel and chemicals
3. Engineering
6. Retailing

There was an even split between UK-owned firms (many of them UK-based multinationals) and foreign owned multinationals. However a higher percentage of foreign-owned firms (82%) than UK-owned firms (53%) have established fully-fledged ED schemes. Otherwise, it is difficult from this sample to draw reliable conclusions about what sorts of firms are likely to establish ED schemes. For example, some firms operated on just one site, others on multiple sites. While Ford/EDAP and Lucas CET are good examples of multi-site ED schemes, Sheerness Steel and Colman's of Norwich "Nice Little Learner" are examples of single-site schemes.

There was some evidence from the survey that firms with fully-fledged ED schemes were more likely to have had difficulty in the recent past in recruiting staff, were conscious of the need to develop new technical skills, and were more likely to have had discussion with trade unions. It did seem that the "personal development" aspect of ED was seen as an employee benefit that could be "traded off" against improvements in skill levels and the promotion of a "learning culture" in the firm.

Although since completing the survey we have heard of a small number of firms who are setting up ED schemes, it is unlikely that the UK total exceeds 50. For further details, see the Large Firms Survey report issued by the Leeds research project in December 1992, and Metcalf (1992).

A changing workforce

The concerns uppermost in the minds of management at the time of the survey were clear from a number of "open" questions asked in the large firms survey. Many firms were making employees redundant, but at the same time they were expecting more of those who remained. A major requirement was multi-tasking, which involves an element of multi-skilling, although it is clear that "skill" in this sense is closer to the idea of a "semi-skilled worker" than the traditional notion of the time-served skilled worker. Other demands were for increased productivity, the introduction of Information Technology and a new emphasis on quality in highly competitive international markets. This involved the workers in acquiring certain new technical skills, but significantly as many respondents mentioned personal skills (53% in each case). This is at the heart of the concern for Basic Skills in several schemes. From the employer's point of view, Employee Development is about **attitudes** (motivation) and **working relationships** (e.g. team-work), as well as about **skills** in the more traditional sense. Employee Development can thus be clearly located within a consideration of Human Resource Management and the drive for Total Quality Management. These concerns were reinforced rather than modified by subsequent interviews conducted with managers. One feature that became very clear in case-study interviews but which did not emerge in the questionnaire survey was the extent to which motivation was central to ED, both to reconcentrate minds on the firm following restructuring and redundancies, and to persuade employees that the firm was genuinely interested in them as individual human beings. A further point that was clarified by subsequent interviews related to the 60% of employers who claimed to have experienced difficulties in recruiting staff: the development of internal labour markets was an essential part of ED schemes, with particular interest paid to the junior management levels and how employees might progress to them from clerical, manual and technical grades.

The demand for flexibility in the workforce, and the related areas of training, development and appraisal, represented the chief locus of change in personnel practices. There are contradictory processes at work here: flexibility includes flatter structures (which at one level can be seen to be in the employees' interests, but in practice can lead to fierce competition for less supervisory positions), single status (clearly in the interests

of a majority of employees) and redeployment and abolition of job descriptions (likely to be in management's interests). In at least one very large employer, ED was being resisted because it was seen as a management ploy to achieve multi-tasking. Significantly this scheme was closely tied to appraisal and entirely management-led, with little employee choice. However, it was also clear that the unions were also in danger of losing support through what was perceived by some of their members as unreasonable opposition to "personal development." Union concerns were reflected in the Personnel Manager's survey response which saw a new emphasis on "individualism" in the workplace, and less "collectivism".

ED - who participates

An important distinction between ED schemes is between those firms where it is offered in response to individual employees (management prerogative) and those firms where there is an element of right (e.g. as a result of a management-union deal). Closely related to this is the participation rate, varying from 100% to single figures, and in one case less than 1%.

Our survey figures suggest that the broad-based ED schemes do reach a significant percentage of the workforce. Our most accurate calculation of an average figure for "super-trainers" would be 13.5%, though this discounts a small number of firms (e.g. Venture Pressings) where a conscious effort has been made to train the "whole workforce" to operate new plant using new working methods. Although several ED schemes we saw were relatively unsuccessful and attracted very small number of employees, it is nevertheless true to say that on balance the "personal developers" involve a higher percentage of their employees in education and training than the "super-trainers". The figures for Ford/EDAP (44%) and Lucas CET (23%) indicate the potential of ED. One way in which firms such as Ford, Lucas and Baxi, and public authorities such as Sheffield and Glasgow City Councils and Humberside County Council, have attempted to move learning activities from a minority to a majority activity (i.e. to establish a "learning culture" at work) is the priority placed on semi-skilled and unskilled employees, women employees and those wanting to improve their Basic Skills. Each employer will, of course, have their own emphases within these overall priorities. It was therefore disappointing to discover in the Large Firms survey that only 26% of employers prioritised unskilled workers, as against 39% prioritising management. Setting priorities also relates to equal opportunities issues: since black people and women are more likely to have left school at the minimum school-leaving age and not to have participated in Further Education or Training (Sargant 1990), they are the people who have most to gain from broad ED schemes.

At the same time, there are communalities between employers in both ideal types which are also significant. The payment of fees for "approved" courses was universal in the questionnaire survey. 81% provided time off for study, 94% paid Open University or Open College fees, 84% had an Open Learning Centre, 90% on-site classes, 74% used customised college courses, and 90% provided advice and counselling. All of these indicate ways forward for the development of a learning workforce, though significantly the last 4 of these features would all be difficult to facilitate in smaller firms, a point taken up in chapter four.

> ***"If somebody gets some satisfaction out of doing something which helps them, which makes them happy at work, you've done something for them you know ..." (Departmental manager, manufacturing firm)***

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The costs of ED

It has proved very difficult to provide details on costs, since ED costs are not always disaggregated from general training costs, may be calculated at corporate, plant or departmental level, and may be expressed as a percentage of turnover or payroll. Costs are most obvious where schemes establish an entitlement for employees to take courses up to a particular amount of money (this may vary from £50-£200 per employee). Those few firms which have attempted cost-benefit analysis point out that ED costs are small compared with total training budgets. It is also the case that many of the gains (e.g. confidence, positive attitude to work) are difficult to quantify.

Evaluation of ED schemes

In theory, any education or training experience should be evaluated. In practice, training is all too often judged by quantity and duration rather than by quality of outcomes. Our case-studies revealed scepticism about and resistance to formal training courses by many employees we interviewed. There was evidence of a disenabling separation between theory and practice, between trainers intentions and trainees perceptions. Job-specific training was seen as often irrelevant to both the current job and to future jobs. This reaction seems to occur at all levels in the workforce. For example, a debt-collector in a bank had been on a two-day Letter-Writing course which taught such skills as "How to reply to a nasty letter politely", but found the learning hard to implement: "We get back to work and then you haven't always got time to put into practice what you've learned because it takes too long". He felt that if he followed the advice given on the course, "you'd be out on your ear because the work is so intense." These harsh views on conventional training match a critique of the notion of competence which informs much current thinking on vocational education and training(VET). Chapman writes:

> Competency based assessment, in its present form, threatens to become the new Fordism of the education system. The proliferation of competency specifications and the increasing precision with which competences are stated parallells the "parcellisation" of the workforce and labour process. As competences are differentiated more finely, so it becomes more and more possible to narrow the scope of initiative and field of responsibility of each individual in her work; the coherence and goals of the organisation accordingly become less rather than more intelligible. As well as inviting bureaucratisation, this process is likely to foster alienation from work rather than revive the work ethic. (Chapman 1991:50)

He points up the contradiction between the "control" and "subordination" aspects of this approach and the desire to promote flexibility in the face of technological and economic change (idem). Some VET seems to remain wedded to a behaviourist view of learning which attempts to divide learning up into small chunks which are "fed" one-by-one from instructor to trainee. Edwards (1993) has commented adversely on the same process.

The negative reaction to some forms of job-specific training created a very unfavourable contrast with the positive reactions to broader educational courses within Employee Development schemes. Yet clearly while any evaluation in terms of outcomes for employees is very positive indeed, we do not yet know enough about the relationship between generic educational skills and generic employment skills to even design an evaluation scheme which relates Employee Development directly to the requirements of industry. This creates a deeply flawed situation: while the costs of ED are only too easy

to quantify (tuition costs; cover; promotion and administration of schemes; guidance) the benefits are much more difficult to express in financial terms (changes in attitudes; improved confidence; positive approach to change).

Employee Development and Industrial Relations

In our Interim Report, we noted that while 52% of employers in our survey registered an improvement in Industrial Relations as a result of the implementation of ED schemes, 23% saw no change, and 23% did not complete this section. We found this surprising, since ED is clearly rooted in Human Resource Management, which in turn is commonly seen as an alternative to adversarial Industrial Relations. In the case-studies it became clear that this was an accurate reflection of what was happening on the ground. While in some firms, there was positive co-operation over ED and both management and unions felt committed, we found two other prevalent attitudes:

> 1. ED, like other training matters, was considered to be a management prerogative
>
> 2. Where not negotiated as a right, ED was seen as a way of dividing the workforce, and developing channels of communications with employees that by-passed their union representatives.

Both these attitudes are damaging for the growth of ED. Human Resource Development suggests both alternative models of Industrial Relations, but can itself be perceived as an *alternative* to Industrial Relations, a way of side-lining the unions for the foreseeable future. It seems a high risk strategy. As we shall make clear in the next three sections, there are clear gains for both employees and employers in ED, and in chapter four we shall make a number of recommendations as to how those mutual benefits can be given structure and form, with the active involvement of unions and other worker representatives.

The benefits to the employer and employee

It will be clear from the description in chapter two that in our interviews we were seeking to separate the benefits for employer and employees. In the event, we were surprised by the frequency with which either employees recognised mutual benefit, or their accounts of the benefits accruing to themselves matched very closely the benefits described by managers. These "mutual benefits" identified by employees are seen as improved performance at work, greater satisfaction and motivation and an opportunity to further develop a career either within or outside the firm. Similar benefits accrue to the firm: the developed worker is seen as more committed, more open to change. It is this mutual benefit which makes Employee Development such an attractive option for firms wanting to move away from management-labour conflict, restrictive practices and so on. At the same time, it is also clear that whereas the outcomes for individuals are quite specific, those for employers are related closely to other management techniques they may be employing to improve human resource management and profitability.

Outcomes for individual workers

There are conceptual and methodological problems in discussing outcomes. Unlike job-specific training, which can be measured using narrow judgments of competence based on a functional analysis of work processes, the outcomes of learning activities designed to promote personal development are more likely on balance to be long-term rather than

short-term, and are subject to unpredictability. This emerges both as a general finding of evaluative studies of adult learning (Sargant 1991, McGivney 1990, Fraser and Ward 1988) and from the project case-studies. The consistency with which particular themes were picked up in the 60 employee interviews does begin to suggest important themes which have a significance beyond the limits of the research project. We have also been able to use some published material containing learners' views (Frank 1992; Mace 1992), as we suggested in figure 4 (chapter two, above). Interviewees were selected by the employers rather than by the researchers, although we did of course specify the *type* of employees we would like to interview (balance of gender, 'race', manual: non-manual, office: shop-floor).

The following positive outcomes for participants in ED have been identified:

> ***Participation outcome 1:*** *The opportunity to resume education in later life can compensate for negative experiences of initial education.*

These negative experiences can have a variety of causes. The stories we heard included: family moving from place to place; low expectations by families, especially of girls; illness during adolescence; school phobia; large class sizes; the availability of jobs in the 50s and 60s and consequent lack of motivation to achieve at school; rebellion against harsh school discipline. Since success in initial education is the biggest single factor in determining subsequent participation in adult education and training (McGivney 1990; Courtney 1991), ED has made a significant contribution to bringing back into learning members of a group who characteristically do not participate.

> ***Participation outcome 2:*** *Flexibly operated ED schemes, especially where Open Learning is a component, can help to break down the barrier to participation in conventional Further and Adult Education represented by shift-work patterns.*

The reality of life on the shop-floor can place many obstacles in the way of workers who want to "better themselves". A process operator in a Chemicals firm was being sponsored by the firm to do an HNC at a local college, but on night shift this meant he missed two shifts a week to attend college:

> (*Interviewer*: "How do your mates feel about it?") "Very bitter (...) They seem to think it's a skive, it's a day's holiday, that I take money for old rope, they're carrying me one day a week, 2 days sometimes. That's about it, it's been like it for 2 years now."

Versions of this particular story were told to us on several occasions. The problem of shift-work can also be defined as sleeping badly on night-shift, or general weariness. One particular firm seemed to have this better under control than others, using both an Open Learning Centre and a supportive management structure to enable shift workers to attend evening classes. They work 10-6 and 2-10 week on, week off, and change shifts for one day per week on the late shift to allow attendance. Fully flexible working helps. The team leader interviewed admitted it took a lot of juggling to make the scheme work, but since he was also taking a sponsored evening class, he had a clear interest in making it work! Union involvement in this scheme meant that problems in some sections where team leaders were less keen on ED were brought up swiftly and, where possible, resolved.

At a Chemicals plant with a 3-shift pattern, a Plant Operator doing a supervisory course through Open Learning actually found the shift system worked to his advantage:

> "I must admit, people who've been doing the course who've worked days have found it a lot harder than I have working shifts, actually getting the time to do it, 'cos they finish work at 4 o'clock, they find it difficult to get started on a night (= in the evening), where being on shifts I could do a couple of hours in the afternoon or in the morning before I came to work. So they had trouble fitting it in. But having the time that I had, I got ahead rather quickly (...) It's one of the benefits of working shifts (...) I find it hard to adapt to days."

***Some continuing problems:** Making time for study can be difficult for the employee, while providing cover at work for released employees can be difficult for the employer.*

Employees participating in ED schemes are almost embarrassingly full of praise of the educational opportunities they are receiving. At the same time, there are the familiar problems of fitting study into a busy schedule. Even where Paid Educational Leave is provided, there is still study to be done at home. The problem is particularly acute for women, who continue to do most of the housework in addition to their paid jobs:

> "That's been one problem, is the time. You've got written work to do, and because you're doing a job as well, you've got to, most of us have got family commitments as well because we're at that age and the essay work, the project work, you know, you really have to squeeze it in, and it does make you think that maybe if you'd done it a few years ago, that might not have been such a problem as it was."

By the same token, the "double burden" of women's work makes the availability of Paid Educational Leave even more vital for working women, if they are to get access to education. (Mace 1987 and 1992).

The other serious problem that recurred in the fieldwork related to cover when employees are released to go on courses. There are considerable variations on this theme: proper cover may be organised; cover may be sporadic; work-mates may rally round and share out the work; the individual employee may simply cram 5 days work into 4. The problem is especially acute where direct personal services (e.g. Social Services Care Assistants) are involved, and the last-mentioned solution is not possible. It is difficult to see how this can be resolved without a proper budget for cover, and firm corporate commitment to ED.

***Education and training outcome:** ED schemes allow for the development of employees beyond the limits of training required for current tasks.*

The concept "education" is unlimited; the concept "training" is premised on the notion of limits set by company needs. As one Training Manager in an engineering firm explained to us:

> "The other thing that tended to happen was we reached a saturation point because of the confines of having 10 different skills to learn and the percentage of need of those skills could range from 100% let's say on a quality aspect (...) to a specialised aspect (...) where

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> you needed only 10%. Eventually you're training for training's sake, and not for the company's needs or personal development".

The last phrase is particularly significant: in so far as training is part of ED, it is only so within the confines of the usefulness of training to perform a particular job in a particular place. Training which is not relevant is of no value to either management or trainee. In the same factory, we interviewed a middle-aged, male, semi-skilled manual worker who had left school at 15, received no Further Education or training and whose chief work attribute had been his physical strength. He had clearly benefited from coming to work for a firm which put a high priority on training. However, he had recently been off sick following an accident and had had great difficulty filling in the necessary forms and writing letters to get sick pay and accident compensation he was entitled to. His educational needs, unlike his training needs, were not limited by his job, and yet this "super-trainer" firm had no facilities for personal development through improvement in Basic Skills. This is especially important bearing in mind that 13% of adults report difficulties with basic Maths or English in either their working or home lives (Hamilton 1987). These difficulties have serious repercussions for individuals, but also affect the quality of communication within both the "workplace community" and other communities with which the individual may identify. As Mace comments:

> ... people's use of literacy in workplaces, as in other places, can be seen as more than a means to pursue career paths in a competitive context. They concern, as well, an understanding of 'work' as a place of common as well as individual interests, within which they and other workers exchange varieties of communication. (Mace 1992: 121)

Equal Opportunities outcome: *ED schemes have particular benefits in unlocking the aspirations of unqualified employees, especially women.*

Women are especially likely to have succumbed to pressures to leave school early or not continue school after the minimum leaving age. Society's low expectations of them are interiorised as a sense that their futures depend more on marriage than a career. A 52 year old bank employee who had left school at 15, and begun work in a cake-shop, described her school as just "an ordinary secondary school and we never had any exams." Even where formal qualifications were on offer, they often led to routine clerical jobs with little chance of progression. A clerical employee in a large public utility explained that she had got "O" levels, but "I wanted to leave school". A bank job had ended when she left Northern Ireland to live in London. There were plenty of jobs, and she moved around frequently, mixing different kinds of work with bringing up 3 children. Only the ILEA School Meals Service provided her with any sort of training. She is now being "developed" in the direction of management, but she also regrets not continuing her general education. She is interested in Computing, and would like to try "A" level Maths.

Personal confidence outcome: *ED can begin to tackle the major problem of lack of confidence that many adults experience in their working lives and beyond.*

Confidence emerged as one of the major themes of the field-work, and one which has significance for employers, individuals, and the communities they identify with.

For some employees, confidence building has a direct impact on their ability to do their job:

> "Confidence with people, to do the job. You're picking up some of your shortcomings, like my spelling. If I'm writing reports, it'll be done better, you know, and I'm constantly writing reports, incidents in the hostel at night. I've got to leave for management in the morning". (Man Hostel Assistant, City Council Housing Department)

> "The course has given me the confidence to ask questions at work." (Woman Home Care Assistant, City Council)

> "Before (...) I'd just sit and get on with my work. I mean, I give opinions now. (...) And obviously for the company's sake, if I am more confident, I'm working a lot better (...) I get involved a lot more now, whereas probably before I'd just come in and do the job. Now I want to get involved, I want to see things happening." (Woman clerical worker, Chemicals firm)

In each of these three cases, confidence is socially enacted through a sense of changed social relations with other people in the workplace. But in a wider sense it is intimately connected with people's self-esteem and sense of what is possible in all spheres of their lives:

> "Speaking personally, it makes you realise that you're probably capable of doing more than what you have done. I mean, coming here, I don't say we necessarily think of ourselves as being thick or anything like that, but you come here and you realise probably you've got a bit more going for you than what you thought you had." (Man Library Caretaker, County Council)

Labour markets outcome: *ED can help employees prepare for the unpredictable nature of the labour market, and the possibility of future redeployment or redundancy.*

This outcome follows closely on from the confidence-building role of ED. Increasing confidence enables employees to raise their sights from the immediate task in hand, with all its constraints and frustrations, and sets them thinking about their potential in terms of internal and external labour markets, further education, and the contributions they can make to family and community life. The field-work interviews were carried out over autumn/winter of 1992/93, at a time of deep recession and increasing unemployment. Employees were realistic about the situation:

> "Another string to my bow" (Technical adviser in a manufacturing firm learning Photography)

> "I would like to get on, but the way things are at the moment, you've got to realise that you've got to bide your time because (of) the recession and everything. The chances of getting on at the moment are remote, but when things change, obviously, yes, ha ha, cross your fingers, yes, obviously when things do change, by being on courses like this, it puts you to the front, people will notice that you've been doing these courses, and it counts for a lot." (Control Room operator, Chemicals firm, studying for a supervisory qualification in the firm's time and an HNC in his own time)

At the same time, the economic crisis inhibits employees from taking risks. Full-time

study would be a real option for many of these employees, but it is a risk that few are prepared to contemplate:

> "I think when I first started it, I did think I would really like to go on to some further education afterwards, but I think now with the job climate as it is, I wouldn't want to give up my job. It would have to be something like an evening course if I do something whereas before when I started I really thought I could do something during the day." (County Council clerical worker on day-release Paid Educational Leave scheme)

Finally in this section, some workers are forced to confront redundancy. At a food manufacturing firm in Lancashire, education and training were provided for 400 workers due to lose their jobs because of plant closure. They were provided with guidance, a job search skills course and a communications skills course in the firm's time, and courses in Catering, Caring and Computing at the factory on a Friday afternoon but in their own time, in addition to the chance to enrol on courses at the local college and have their fees paid. Jean Hewitt (real name), a machinist, sums up some of the possibilities and obstacles in the way of personal development:

> While many people took advantage of the courses, others held the attitude that they were a waste of time or they lacked the confidence to try them ... At one time the Friday afternoon classes clashed with the overtime and it was difficult for people to choose between the two ... The result of all this activity for me, is that I have gained confidence, learnt new skills, learnt to deal with new situations and now the future holds more promise than it did two years ago ... I think that on shop floors all over Britain there are workers who have talents that lie dormant because they are not given the opportunity to find out what their capabilities are. (Hewitt 1992:8)

Employers: perspectives and ambitions

> "I don't believe in training: I believe in development" (Human Resources Development Manager, Chemicals firm)

For a number of reasons, it is difficult to speak with confidence of "outcomes" of ED for employers. It is more ambiguous, less categorical than assessing employee outcomes. Firstly, ED schemes differ greatly, both within the "super trainer" and "personal developer" ideal types, and also within those ideal types. Secondly, there is a bigger gap between intentions and realisation, between the claims managers make about their work, and what can be gleaned from looking at figures and talking to employees. Thirdly, there is a lack of evaluative work on ED schemes. Last, and perhaps most important, ED is usually only one part of Human Resource Development practices, which in turn are only one part of overall management strategy.

Understanding the organisation: *Employers hope that employees will acquire a clearer understanding of how their jobs fit in with a broader whole firm perspective. This should encourage them to identify with the firm's overall objectives.*

In the private sector, both employers and employees commented on the opportunities that ED could provide to meet employees from other departments or even sites, even simply to "put a face to a name." A number of firms were trying to encourage participation. A Personnel and Training Manager in a common ownership firm commented:

> "We are an employee participative company, so everybody gets involved in the decision-making and problem-solving, the continuous improvement of the company."

Interestingly, managers from this firm had visited Nissan, and similar sentiments were voiced in another firm, where they were placed totally in a "Japanisation" context, rather than as co-operative ideals:

> "We've taken the right kind of people, the people that believe in the philosophy of involvement and providing we support them, then we have got the best of the Japanese practices that they use in Japan, without the commitment of the Company to the way of life of the individual ..." (Training Manager).

Other features of management practice which can be seen to support a wider understanding of the organisation, its objectives, possibilities and constraints, include single status agreements, single union agreements and variously named Advisory or Works Councils. All of these featured in the case-studies.

There is a particular problem in local authority employment, where characteristic work-sites include Residential Homes, Parks, Sports facilities, schools, as well as large offices and depots. The closer you get to the actual point of delivery of service, the higher proportion of manual and clerical workers there are likely to be. Often they have little idea of how their particular job fits into the whole council service (Humberside County Council, for example, employs 40,000 staff and is still neatly divided in two by the River Humber, despite the bridge!). So any event which brings together employees from different departments and work-sites is going to have the value of giving employees some feel for the "whole" of council services: "You realise you're all part of the whole thing". (Library caretaker, Humberside County Council).

"I feel I can talk in front of a small group without getting embarrassed, something I've always found difficult." (Residential Care Assistant, City Council)

These advantages are most explicit in the case of the "Take Ten" scheme in Sheffield, a Paid Educational Leave scheme for low-paid employees which involves 10 days of paid attendance on the course. (Burke et al 1987). "Understanding how the council works" is built into the course structure: "We begin by building up a picture of the Authority from council workers' own experiences, have meetings with councillors and officers and then move on to small groups e.g. on women's health,

"We have to go away and tell our colleagues about these courses. If you just get a wee smidgen of each little bit you learn, you're going to become more confident. These courses can only help people to speak out more in a group, go to their union meetings and speak out more, get a wee bit more self-confident. And even if that only comes out of it, and you help people to progress in their work, to be a voice, (it'll be worthwhile)." (Museum Assistant, City Council)

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council finance, redeveloping Sheffield, etc. These options are chosen by the group." (From an unpublished paper by Graham Birkin, Take Ten, Sheffield, 1992). Typical comments from evaluation sheets completed by employees include:

> "(I've gained) a lot of knowledge of how other people in the 'Council' work, listening to the other people in the group and the work they do." (Residential Care Assistant).

> "I wouldn't have known about the council. I wouldn't have been inside the Town Hall if it wasn't for the course. I also enjoyed learning about other council workers jobs." (Family and Community Services Department).

***Flexibility:** ED is part of management strategy to encourage flexibility, i.e. less rigid job demarcations, the ability to take on new tasks, team-work and positive attitudes to change.*

> "If the company's willing to invest money in them, the theory is that they're willing to put time and effort and motivation back in during the day when they are at work." (Personnel and Training Manager).

Flexibility involves multi-tasking, the concept that one worker can perform a number of separate tasks within the firm. This in turn involves a greater or lesser element of multi-skilling. This is crucial to understanding the renewed interest in training among UK employers. However, it was clear that the more narrowly this was interpreted, the greater was the danger of reaching a point where skills levels exceeded company requirements, and employee aspirations could be dashed. Where unions are not committed to management plans, they can obstruct them by defending older notions of "skill" and "craft" and the rigid demarcations which went with them. What ED adds is the concept that learning may not be so closely tied to the jobs-in-hand. This kind of learning, as we saw in the previous section, is seen very positively by employees, and at the same time, learning pays off for the firm in terms of a more positive attitude to work and a more positive attitude to change. Better communications skills are a key to team-work, which is now widely practised. In terms of productivity, the stakes are very high indeed: a bulk steelmaker quoted figures showing that in 1992 4,700 employees produced 3.35m tons whereas in 1980 it took 23,500 people to produce 2.2m tons.

In some ways, ED can be seen as the "sweetener on the pill" of changing work practices. One Chemicals firm had introduced a complex new shift system which allowed 1 day's training per 6 weeks work. ED makes business sense, which is why firms are adopting it.

***Equal opportunities:** ED schemes can contribute towards the aspirations of employers to implement equal opportunities practices*

> "There's just one obvious (priority) and that is about encouraging women, because so often they've been left behind with the other sorts of training and I think that's one thing this (Further Education) policy can help. You know the sort of thing, courses that are now available to get women to think about furthering their career rather than just training them at what they've been doing..."(Training Manager).

There is then some evidence, as mentioned above, that women are benefiting especially from ED. However, it is again difficult to disentangle the significance of quite small initiatives, which include women only Assertiveness Training and a high take up from clerical staff on general education opportunities, from the overall position of women in the labour market (Payne, Joan 1991). Three of the case-study firms had women's networks, but in two of these cases the main concentration was in the high profile area of management training. Such a tiny proportion of the employees we interviewed were black (under 10%) that it is impossible to make any comment about how ED might benefit black people; none of the firms we visited had any special arrangements to develop their black employees, and the number of black employees interviewed was too small to draw valid conclusions.

***Learning culture:** ED is a positive contribution towards developing a "learning culture" in the workplace*

> "... it's not the knowledge that people have about their job that really helps them to do the job better, it's the enjoyment they get from it, the satisfaction they get from it and their own personal self-respect and their ability to get on with other people." (Human Resource Development Manager).
>
> "Quite a lot of people who haven't had any kind of education or training for a long time, if they can actually go back into training via (our ED scheme), then yes, they're getting back into the learning environment." (Personnel and Training Manager).

These two examples, the first from a "super trainer", the second from a "personal developer", illustrate the potential of ED to generate new forms of experience and relationships in the workplace, which are often described as a "learning culture". Several Personnel / Training Managers *and* several trade union officers commented to us about the old dictum that the manual worker leaves his/her brain at the factory gate. It is now generally recognised that most employees have much more potential than they use in their day-to-day jobs, and employers are keen to tap that potential for the firm. Yet another Training Manager acknowledged, though, that ED is "not embedded in the culture", i.e. there is no tabula rasa, but older attitudes and approaches remain embedded in firms, and have to be tackled before the new culture can be established. Of particular concern to us was that this new culture was generally perceived to be an individualistic one: "the collective thing is a thing of the past - things just aren't like that any more" (Training Manager). Yet culture *is* by its very nature a collective, lived concept, and the strength of the best ED schemes we saw came from the sense employees had of moving forward *with* their work-mates in a common endeavour. It was significant that the view quoted here was expressed in the one firm where there was overt trade union opposition to ED.

Successful participants in ED schemes were frequently featured in company in-house magazines and newsletters, partly to promote the schemes themselves, but also to promote the concept of a "learning culture" within the workplace.

***Internal labour market:** ED can contribute towards creating a vibrant internal labour market, which is of particular importance to employers with plans for future expansion*

Succession planning was mentioned by a number of employers in relation to ED, especially in relation to manual and clerical workers moving into junior management positions. ED schemes here are also seen to include various activities such as MBAs by Open Learning which could properly be seen as management training. As reported above, many employees hoped that the courses they were studying would help them with future employment, either inside or outside their current employer, but their uncertainty was matched by employer uncertainty as to what future labour needs would be. At the same time, various employers had experienced labour shortages, especially for skilled workers, in the late 80s mini-boom, and "growing your own staff" was seen as an alternative to depending on "graduates" of either the education system or government training schemes.

Employer and employee perspectives: a summary

The material in the previous sections is summarised briefly in figure 5.

Figure 5: Employer priorities and employee outcomes

Employer priorities	Common interests	Employee outcomes
Understanding the organisation	Equal opportunities	Participation in education
Workplace culture	Labour market	Education *and* training
Flexibility		Confidence building

While the benefits to employees are personal and specific, employer perspectives on ED reveal that it cannot be considered apart from the wider Human Resources and management strategies of the employer.

Recommendations and implications

Figure 6: **Summary of recommendations**

Objective	Short-term (practice)	Long-term (policy)
1. Setting up an ED scheme	Networking Involving employees	National Employee Development Agency (NEDA)
2. Costing ED	The need for clarity	Appropriateness of public support
3. Personal growth	Building broad-based ED schemes	Balancing economic and social aims within employment
4. Transferability and Progression	Liaison with educational institutions Liaison with accreditation bodies, e.g. NCVQ, Open College networks	
5. A learning culture	Setting priorities	Lifelong learning focus
6. Small firms	Networking Local government TECs and LECs	Appropriateness of public support
7. Constructive partnerships	Management models Trade union models	NEDA
8. Guidance	TEC initiatives LEA initiatives Educational institutions	NEDA
9. Monitoring and Research	Establishing criteria	NEDA

1. Setting up an ED scheme

Networking is an important means of generating new ED schemes, but in the longer term a National Employee Development Agency should be established as a focus for information, consultancy and evaluation.

We have already commented on the effectiveness of networking as an innovatory force in ED, and the existence of an ad hoc group of employers, mainly in manufacturing industries, meeting to exchange experiences. At a more local level, there are a number of initiatives such as the Bedfordshire Open Learning Network which facilitates exchange of experiences at a local level, and which involves representatives of the Local Education Authority as well as private firms. Networking is important at two levels, within firms and between firms.

Between firms, we see no reason why ED schemes should be regarded as "commercial secrets". As we demonstrated in Chapter Three, there are positive outcomes for both employers and employees, but there are also costs in setting up and maintaining such schemes. The sort of claims made by firms about the advantages of such initiatives (Metcalf 1992:I.25) need careful evaluation before jumping to the conclusion that firms can obtain competitive advantages through ED. She comments for example:

> Sheerness Steel had seen a rise in quality (getting the product right first time) from 89 per cent to 99 per cent. Part of this improvement was attributed to their education initiative. (idem)

If the educational initiative is only "part" of the reason for improved quality, and assuming that "quality" is only one element of economic performance and profitability, the case seems far from proven! It must also be borne in mind that employers have other motives for setting up ED schemes, not least the strong Public Relations advantages to be gained from successful ED schemes. This is especially apparent in the Ford/EDAP scheme, given the poor record of Ford in, for example, Industrial Relations. (Metcalf 1992:I.26/7).

We explained in Chapter Three that there are clear advantages to be derived from ED for both employer and employee. In practice, this will only happen if management and unions work together to ensure mutual benefit. This in turn presupposes a greater awareness on the part of unions of education and training as bargaining issues of benefit to their members (Forrester et al 1993b) and on the part of management a willingness to redraw the contours of management prerogative in relation to education and training.

Outside bodies such as the National Institute of Adult Continuing Education (NIACE), public policy think-tanks such as the Policy Studies Institute (PSI) and Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR), and universities all have roles to play as critical supporters of ED, as do specialist agencies such as Workbase. However, in the current atmosphere of overlapping consultancies and research contracts, there are still problems about where interested employers and unions can go for independent advice on setting up schemes, and independent evaluation of existing schemes. So in the longer term, a National Employee Development Agency should act as a focus for information, consultancy and evaluation.

2. Costing ED

The costing of ED schemes should relate to clearly established priorities and offer the same entitlement to those within and outside paid work.

As we argued in Chapter Three, cost-benefit analysis is an inappropriate tool for measuring ED. At the same time, employers thinking of setting up schemes must be able to justify their investment to shareholders (private sector) and taxpayers (public sector). We were particularly impressed by one public sector model in which the budget for ED was rigorously set against established priorities and decisions to support individuals made accordingly. The current position in relation to adult learning is that most educational opportunities for adults are provided on the basis that the student will pay the full costs. However, certain priority subjects (e.g. English, Maths, English for speakers of other languages) receive a public subsidy. We believe that such subjects should be offered on the same basis within workplace learning schemes (whether the courses were held in-house or at a college). In the context of a comprehensive policy towards adult learning for people both in and outside work, it may be appropriate in the future to provide public support for general education opportunities provided at the workplace, but we would argue for a consistent policy across provision for those in and outside paid employment. For example, the effects of the NIACE proposal for 30 hours paid plus 30 hours unpaid PEL per employee per year (NIACE 1993:50) would be regressive if no movement were made to establish an entitlement for those not in work.

3. Personal growth

ED schemes should be constructed so as to maximise personal growth opportunities for employees.

How can firms ensure that the substantial benefits for personal growth deriving from broad-based ED schemes are made increasingly available to all employees? This must involve moving from the "super-trainer" to the "personal developer" model, and building ED schemes which include opportunities for adults to take part in a wide variety of learning activities. As we have emphasised at various points in this report, ED will always include training in the skills needed to do the current job, but is not limited by those requirements. However, we are also conscious that this runs against the grain of economic thinking, which is characteristically short-termist and profit-driven. However, the free market has always been limited in practice by a combination of legislation (increasingly at an international level), enlightened self-interest and social conscience (from Quakers to the new ethical stance of some employers on "green" issues). Thus the balance between the social and economic functions of employment is continuously renegotiated, and we are suggesting quite clearly that ED has a role to play as part of a new relationship between profit and efficiency on the one hand, and the provision of socially useful paid employment and opportunities for personal development on the the other.

"It's given me confidence. It's shown me I'm not brain-dead, and I can do better than what I'm doing. It's given me a chance, it's a challenge, something to get to grips with."
(Office clerk, manufacturing firm)

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4. Transferability and progression

There is a common interest for employers, employees and government in developing a comprehensive and transparent system for accrediting workplace learning.

This is the only set of recommendations where it is difficult to draw a line between short-term practice and long-term policy, since by definition, transferability and progression focus on an indefinite future for individuals. Both in terms of general educational opportunities and job-specific training, employers should liaise with educational institutions and award-making bodies (e.g. NCVQ, Open College networks (OCNs)) in order to ensure progression from one stage of learning to the next, while the government must continue to work towards a system of accreditation which is transparent to both individuals and their present and future employers. As NIACE recently argued: "Government should promote a coherent and comprehensive qualification system based on a credit framework which is able to take account of academic, NCVQ and OCN accreditation." (NIACE 1993:48). Although these issues have not been central to our research concerns, it is not clear to us that current initiatives are pulling in the same direction. For example, NCVQ are responsible for *both* the competence-based NVQ system, and the GNVQ (*General* National Vocational Qualifications) system with its core and transferable skills elements. It is also clear that without a national Paid Educational Leave scheme, employees wanting to continue their general education on a full-time basis, but who cannot afford to give up their job, are going to remain in a difficult situation (cf Chapter Three, pp. 31/32, above).

5. A learning culture

Lifelong learning provides a context within which "a learning culture" in the broadest sense can grow and flourish in the workplace.

From the point of view of the employee, the focus of ED lies within the achievement of internationally recognised objectives of lifelong education - education available at any point in an adult's life when s/he may require it. However, we are also clear that it is in employers' interests to develop "a learning culture" within the workplace. Traditionally, Vocational Education and Training (VET), as exemplified in the apprenticeship system, was about "learning a culture" - the culture of the workplace. Increasingly it is about developing "a learning culture" within the workplace. The best ED schemes are suggesting that there are transferable and core skills that are acquired in general education and can later be applied to learning and performing specific tasks. There is also evidence that the habit of learning (almost anything) predisposes individuals towards further learning and so contributes towards flexibility and a "learning culture" in the workplace. At the same time, there is little hard evidence about these issues, and a clear need for ongoing evaluation and research. It is the specific logic of contemporary capitalist development which demands an ever-increasing rate of change in both products and production methods. This creates potentially more interesting work for those who remain in employment, but also levels of anxiety about constantly changing tasks and skill requirements. Thus "a learning culture" does not suggest learning for its own sake, but learning in order to fulfil the employer's objectives. Further, "a learning culture" implies the involvement of the whole workforce in development activities,

which is also an aim of the National Education and Training Targets (NETTs). (NIACE 1993).

At the same time, the development of the whole workforce can in practice only be achieved by setting priorities which make it clear that those employees with few if any educational or vocational qualifications are in urgent need of development. Otherwise it will continue to be the case that those with more successful initial education and more training in the past will be the ones who dominate development activities. This in turn will give rise to a very destructive tension between a will to change at the top and middle levels of the organisation and resistance at the lower levels.

From an employer's point of view, an enhanced programme of job-specific training, such as that implemented by the "super-trainers", can deliver some of the objectives of ED. However, only an extension of broad-based educational skills can prepare employees for the unpredictable demands of new production methods and economic conditions as we move towards the year 2000. Further, only ED schemes can express the social objectives of employers as part of the wider social fabric, as well as their responsibilities to shareholders and/or taxpayers of profit and efficient public services.

6. Small firms (SMEs)

Most SMEs need external support in developing ED schemes.

SMEs constitute the overwhelming majority of enterprises in the country, and employ many millions of people. At the end of 1989, 95% of UK businesses employed fewer than 20 people, and accounted for 35% of employment outside central and local government. (Daly and McCann 1992). What kind of structures and finance will enable SMEs to establish Employee Development schemes?

We see little evidence that small firms are likely to develop ED schemes without external support. It is clear from studies of training (Training Agency 1989a) that small firms do not provide as much training as large firms. At the same time, there are numerous cases of good practice which suggest that the obstacles are more to do with "know-how" about training than objective factors within SMEs which make it impossible for them to train. (Bannock and Stanworth 1990; Gubbins and Johnson 1991). One of the major problems SMEs have had in promoting training has been releasing workers from production tasks (rather than finance). Thus Employee Development schemes which assume education and training will take place in the worker's own time have clear advantages. It should also be noted that NIACE runs an Employee Development scheme for their 20+ workers. An obvious source of support for SMEs wanting to set up ED schemes is through TEC's and LEC's, and their development funds.

Local authorities also have a role to play, with Economic Development Units working alongside Local Education Authorities to make opportunities available. The Derbyshire Employee Development Initiative (DEDI) is a good example of a local initiative, with the involvement of the residential adult education Northern College, the Derbyshire LEA and local TEC funding. SMEs will certainly require funding support if they are to promote general learning opportunities through the workplace. However, once schemes are set up, we see no reason why they should not operate as suggested above, with the state taking responsibility for certain priority areas, and the employer for other courses of study.

7. Constructive partnerships

There is an urgent need to develop models for the successful organisation of ED schemes.

There are mutual benefits in ED, but this mutuality can only be assured through a partnership approach. If an ED scheme is to appear, someone must take the initiative. This may come from management, trade unions, or outside agencies (e.g. TECs, LECs, Workbase, the local authority). Workbase has a clear model for such initiatives, built on the principle of a 4-way partnership between employers, employees and their representatives, Workbase and educational institutions. The model clearly works. However, there is no agreement within TECs / LECs, management professional organisations or employer organisations about what constitute appropriate models of partnership. In the longer term this is clearly a role which a National ED Agency could perform, building on the experience of Workbase and employers who have successfully established comprehensive ED schemes.

We have attempted to draw up our own partnership model based on empirical evidence, i.e. on what happened in practice in successful ED schemes. Not everyone is in favour of ED, especially where this involves study in the firm's time or paying employees to study subjects apparently unrelated to their day-to-day work. Opposition may come from corporate Finance Directors, from hard-pressed departmental managers trying to meet deadlines and from trade unionists suspicious that this is the latest management scheme to soften up the workforce for redeployment and redundancy. We have identified a number of levels at which ED needs support if it is to grow:

External level	Consultancies (e.g. Workbase) Public agencies (e.g. SCEC, NIACE) Professional networks TECs and LECs
Central employer level	Corporate Personnel department Corporate Training department
Departmental employer level	Training Manager or equivalent Line managers
Employee level	Individual employees Trade union representatives or other worker representatives
Educational level	Higher education Adult Education or Community Education Further Education

We would argue in general terms that a successful ED scheme is conditional on support at each of these levels, and for there to be communication between those levels. We would further maintain that provided this condition holds, opposition from one or more parties within the structure can be overcome. Further that the greater the degree of communication taking place, the less likelihood there is of one level attempting to frustrate or subvert the efforts of another level. These are "working hypotheses" which need to be tested against further research in the field.

8. Guidance

Given the complexity of adult motivation to learn, it is important to ensure that independent guidance is available to employees within ED schemes.

Adult motivation to learn seldom presents itself in a "finished" way. It is characteristically tentative and vulnerable to failure but can grow and flourish over time. A particular strength of the Ford/EDAP scheme is the existence of independent local advisers; in many firms such guidance mechanisms as exist are too closely linked to appraisal schemes to be perceived by employees as providing independent advice. Sources of guidance within the geographical area may include an Educational Guidance service, but despite nearly two decades of development, this service is far from comprehensive and chronically underfunded. A number of initiatives are in existence, for example a scheme which provides vouchers for educational guidance to individuals sponsored by Leeds TEC. There is a clear need to create organic links between TEC/LEC initiatives and local Educational Guidance and Careers Guidance agencies. In the longer term, the National Employee Development Agency might well assume responsibility for promoting workplace Educational Guidance as an essential part of ED work at a national level. This recommendation is compatible with the NIACE proposal that "TECs should promote the development of in-company advice and guidance centres (and the development of links with careers services and LEA-supported EGSAs)."

9. Monitoring and Research

A key role of the National Educational Development Agency would be to research and monitor ED.

Employers have an urgent need to develop methods of evaluation which encompass the broad aims of ED. As we suggested above, this is far from the case at present. In the short-term, we would recommend the adoption of the evaluation criteria suggested in chapter two, above. In the longer term, a National Employee Development Agency would both provide consultancy on the management of evaluation and monitoring of broad-based ED schemes, and also promote independent research in the field. Figure 7 summarises the range of activities suggested for the NEDA.

> ***"I was one of those that left school when there were jobs around, so it didn't really matter (...) Qualifications on paper didn't matter so you just wanted to get out and go to work and earn some money, and there were jobs around." (Assembly worker, manufacturing firm)***

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Figure 7: The proposed National Employee Development Agency (NEDA)

Functions
1. to act as a focus for information, consultancy and evaluation 2. to offer advice on partnership approaches to Employee Development, building on the experience of Workbase and successful employer initiatives 3. to assume responsibility for promoting Educational Guidance within the workplace 4. to advise on relevant evaluation and monitoring techniques 5. to act as a focus for independent research in the field of Employee Development 6. to develop further public policy on Employee Development
Organisation
Discussions should take place on the establishment of this Agency, involving the National Institute for Adult Continuing Education (NIACE), interested employers and employee representatives, the Department of Employment (Training, Enterprise and Education Directorate - TEED) and academic researchers.

The wider context: public and private provision

We believe that there is an urgent need to take action on education and training at all levels. The need to view expenditure on education and training as an investment is a point that many public agencies have stressed in recent years. As the CBI have put it: "the British workforce is under-educated, under-trained and under-qualified" (CBI 1989). The National Education and Training Targets (NETTs) state quite simply that "by 1996, all employees should take part in training or development activities." (NIACE 1993). We identify ED schemes as important ways of achieving those targets for low-paid and manual workers, and as an essential part of any future comprehensive structure of education and training for adult employees. Sir Brian Wolfson, Chairman of the National Training Task Force recently commented that "... one of the most effective investments a company can make in its future is to encourage and actively support the continuous self-development of its workforce." (NIACE 1993:33).

At the same time, we would like to see ED grow in the context of a nationally agreed entitlement to adult education and training, encompassing those in paid work, and the rest of the population who are unemployed, in unpaid work (including domestic work and voluntary work) or retired. This raises large issues of public policy in this field. Current resources for adult education seem scarcely able to sustain the current structures which serve predominantly those who have benefited from education and training in the past, let alone reaching out to the millions of people who identify education with failure and have received little training in their working lives. As NIACE have recently commented:

> In summary, adults currently / recently engaged in formal study tend to be those from skilled and middle-class backgrounds who benefited most from initial education. This significant minority of adults who year after year willingly and enthusiastically engage in study are, essentially, the 'already committed', who will engage in some form of learning because of the value they attach to such activity. By themselves, they are not enough to fulfil the NETTs for lifetime learning. Expansion in adult participation in education and training - which, NIACE believes, is necessary for the achievement of the national targets for lifelong learning - will only be achieved through the recruitment of those others who traditionally have been much less willing to participate.
>
> In this sense, the difficult tasks lie ahead, since strategies for the recruitment and motivation of traditional non-participants are likely to be complex and require a willingness to change traditional practices which has significant resource and staffing implications for education and training providers. The task will not be achieved by a 'quick fix'. (NIACE 1993:13)

It is still unclear at the time of writing (September 1993) what the outcomes of the 1992 Further and Higher Education Act will be for adult learners, especially in the context of a government committed to further cutbacks in public expenditure. It is precisely those groups of traditional non-participants who are least likely to be able to afford to pay the full costs of adult education, even if they felt motivated to do so.

It is for these reasons, concerned with the whole of society and not just exclusively with those in paid work, that we believe that the establishment of an entitlement to education and training is a more efficient and equitable way forward than legislating about what proportion of their budget firms should spend on training. It is more efficient because it recognises that education as well as training is an important economic priority, and because it begins to harness the energies and interests of employees; it is more equitable because it treats with equal seriousness the right to education and training throughout adult life, independent of economic status. As we said at the beginning of this report: "Within the constraints and possibilities of their circumstances, people struggle to make sense of their lives and to provide a decent standard of living and quality of life for themselves, their families and their communities." We believe that ED has a significant role to play in that process.

APPENDIX ONE

Dissemination

As was emphasised in the Interim Report of the project (July 1992): "We are attempting to share our thinking about the contribution of Employee Development schemes to the development of Lifelong Learning as we go along." Part of the process is this Final Report, which builds on the information contained in the Interim Report and the Large Employers Survey Report (December 1992).

The Research Fellow has made presentations about the project at three conferences organised by NIACE, and at two organised by the Standing Conference on University Teaching and Research in the Education of Adults (SCUTREA). Articles have been written for *Adults Learning* (June 1993) and for the *International Journal of Lifelong Education*. A specialised publication has been produced for trade unionists interested in Employee Development, and it is intended to hold a number of seminars to discuss this. The main empirical findings of the project are contained in this report. A more theoretical account of the field of workplace learning is being prepared for publication in book form.

Project staff have also discussed the progress and findings of the research with colleagues within the UK and other countries. The Research Fellow has taken part in two symposia organised by the Lancaster University Centre for the Study of Education and Training (CSET), and is contributing to a Collected Papers on Education and Training in the Workplace to be published later this year by the Centre for the Study of Education and Training, Lancaster University.

The two-year project began with a conference, "Towards a Learning Workforce" (Leeds, 13 September 1991) and ended with an international conference, "Developing a Learning Workforce" (Leeds, 12-14 July 1993). A summary version of this Final Report was produced for the 1993 conference, and formed the basis of a presentation to conference delegates. The collected papers from this conference, when published, will enable ED in the UK to be placed in the context of the global capitalist economy with its many possibilities, contradictions and constraints.

The general field of workplace learning will remain an important area of activity within the Department of Adult Continuing Education, University of Leeds.

Employee Development

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Abbrieviations

ALBSU	Adult Literacy and Basic Skills Unit
CBI	Confederation of British Industry
CD	Continuous Development
CERI	Centre for Educational Research and Innovation
CET	Continuing Education and Training (Lucas Industries)
CIPP	Centre for Industrial Policy and Performance, University of Leeds
CSET	Centre for the Study of Education and Training, University of Lancaster
DEDI	Derbyshire Employee Development Initiative
ED	Employee Development
EDAP	Employee Development and Assistance Programme, Ford UK
EGSA	Educational Guidance Service for Adults
GM	General Motors
GNVQ	General National Vocational Qualification
HNC	Higher National Certificate
ICI	Imperial Chemical Industries
ILEA	Inner London Education Authority (abolished 1990)
IPM	Institute of Personnel Management
IPPR	Institute for Public Policy Research
ITBs	Industrial Training Boards (now Industry Lead Bodies)
LEA	Local Education Authority
LEC	Local Enterprise Company (Scotland)
MBA	Master of Business Administration
MSF	Manufacturing, Science and Finance
NCVQ	National Council for Vocational Qualifications
NEDA	(proposed) National Employee Development Agency
NETTs	National Education and Training Targets
NIACE	National Institute for Adult Continuing Education
NVQ	National Vocational Qualification
OCN	Open College Network
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PEL	Paid Educational Leave
PSI	Policy Studies Institute
SCEC	Scottish Community Education Council
SCUTREA	Standing Conference on University Teaching and Research in the Education of Adults
SIC	Standard Industrial Classification (UK)
SMEs	Small and Medium-sized Enterprises
SIT	Society of Industrial Tutors
STUC	Scottish Trades Unions Congress
TA	Training Agency (now TEED)

TEC	Training and Enterprise Council
TEED	Training, Enterprise and Education Directorate, Employment Department
TGWU	Transport and General Workers Union
TUC	Trades Union Congress
UAW	Union of Automobile Workers (USA)
UK	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
USA	United States of America
VET	Vocational Education and Training

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